

## Message Text

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UNCLAS STATE 068300 TOSEC 030038

FOR HODDING CARTER FROM S/PRS - BROWN

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS R.)

SUBJECT: RESTON COLUMN ON MOSCOW TRIP, NYTIMES, MARCH 27.

NO. 4

HEREWITH TRANSMITTED FULL TEXT JAMES RESTON COLUMN, SUNDAY,  
MARCH 27 EDITION NEW YORK TIMES, UNDER HEAD "VANCE'S  
MISSION TO MOSCOW,.

BEGIN TEXT: THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION IS NOW HAVING ITS  
FIRST PERSONAL CONTACT WITH THE LEADERS OF THE SOVIET  
UNION, AND EVER SINCE THE LAST WORLD WAR, THESE "FIRST  
MEETINGS" BETWEEN NEW AMERICAN OFFICIALS AND THE SOVIET  
CHIEFTAINS HAVE BEEN HIGHLY SIGNIFICANT.

THIS IS THE TIME WHEN BOTH SIDES TAKE THE MEASURE OF ONE  
ANOTHER, AND FIRST IMPRESSIONS TEND TO INFLUENCE, FOR  
GOOD OR ILL, FUTURE POLICIES. LOOKING BACK OVER THE SIX  
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NEW UNITED STATES ADMINISTRATIONS SINCE THE DEATH OF  
FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT, THE RECORD OF THESE FIRST MEETINGS  
IS NOT ENCOURAGING.

THE FIRST MEETING BETWEEN KENNEDY AND KRUSHCHEV AT  
VIENNA IN THE SPRING OF 1961 WAS A DISASTER. KRUSHCHEV  
FIGURED THAT KENNEDY WAS YOUNG AND WEAK. ANY AMERICAN

PRESIDENT, HE THOUGHT, WHO LAUNCHED AN INVASION OF CUBA AT THE BAY OF PIGS, AND THEN DIDN'T SEE IT THROUGH, WAS EITHER RECKLESS OR TIMID, OR BOTH.

ON THIS ESTIMATE OF KENNEDY'S CHARACTER, KRUSHCHEV GAMBLED ON SENDING NUCLEAR MISSILES TO CUBA, AND IT WAS NOT UNTIL KENNEDY FACED UP TO THIS CHALLENGE THAT KRUSHCHEV TURNED BACK AND REAPPRAISED MOSCOW'S RELATIONS WITH WASHINGTON.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S FIRST BRUSH WITH THE COMMUNIST WORLD WAS TO GO TO KOREA AND PULL OUT OF THE WAR IN THAT COUNTRY. LATER, WHEN HE WAS URGED BY HIS CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF, ADMIRAL RADFORD, BY HIS VICE PRESIDENT, RICHARD NIXON, AND BY HIS SECRETARY OF STATE, JOHN FOSTER DULLES, TO INTERVENE IN VIETNAM TO SAVE THE FRENCH AT DIEN BIEN PHU, HE CALLED THEM ALL TOGETHER ONE MORNING AND SAID HE WOULDN'T PUT AN AMERICAN ARMY ON THE ASIAN CONTINENT 10,000 MILES FROM HOME BECAUSE IT WAS A BUM IDEA -- AND THEN HE WENT OUT TO BURNING TREE AND PLAYED GOLF.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON HAD A CHANCE TO CUT HIS LOSSES IN VIETNAM SHORTLY AFTER THE MURDER OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY, BUT HE PLUNGED DEEPER INTO THE JUNGLE AND, IN HIS FIRST DAYS AT THE WHITE HOUSE, CONVINCED BOTH MOSCOW AND PEKING THAT THEY WERE DEALING WITH A GAMBLER. NIXON CAME IN WITH THE COMPLICATED THEORY THAT UNPREDICTABILITY WAS A VIRTUE, AND THAT HE COULD WITHDRAW FROM SOUTHEAST UNCLASSIFIED

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ASIA BY ADVANCING WITH HIS BOMBERS. BUT IT TOOK A LOT OF TIME AND COST A LOT OF LIVES.

SO THE SOVIET LEADERS HAVE LEARNED THAT NEW MEN AND NEW ADMINISTRATIONS IN WASHINGTON CAN MAKE QUITE A DIFFERENCE, AND THEY ARE LIKELY TO BE BAFFLED BY THE COURTEOUS SIMPLICITY OF CY VANCE'S MANNER, AND THE COMPLICATED ASPECTS OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S POLICIES.

AT NO TIME SINCE THE LAST WORLD WAR HAVE THE SOVIETS EVER HAD TO PUZZLE OUT SUCH A COMBINATION OF MORALITY AND STRATEGY IN WASHINGTON. THEY COULD DEAL WITH A TRUMAN OR A KENNEDY WHO THREATENED TO OPPOSE THEIR EXPANSIONIST POLICIES ALL OVER THE WORLD, OR AN EISENHOWER WHO DIDN'T PRESS THEM TOO HARD, BUT CARTER IS SOMETHING DIFFERENT.

HE TELLS THEM THAT HE WANTS TO COOPERATE WITH THEM AND CRITICIZE THEM AT THE SAME TIME. HE DOESN'T WANT TO PRETEND THAT THE HELSINKI AGREEMENTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS OR

THE VLADIVOSTOK AGREEMENTS ON ARMS CONTROL ARE WORKING. HE INSISTS THAT THEY HAVE BEEN SIGNED, THEY SHOULD WORK. HE WANTS A MAJOR REDUCTION OF STRATEGIC MILITARY WEAPONS, A BALANCED CONTROL ON CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS, AND AN AGREEMENT ON THE SALE OF ARMS TO OTHER COUNTRIES.

AT THE SAME TIME, MR. CARTER RESPECTS THE RIGHT OF THE SOVIET UNION TO CRITICIZE THE UNFAIRNESS AND INEQUITIES OF LIFE IN AMERICA, AND INSISTS ON EQUAL TIME TO COMMENT ON THE VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION.

IT WILL BE INTERESTING TO SEE HOW BREZHNEV, GROMYKO AND COMPANY REACT TO VANCE AND CARTER'S POLICIES. THEY HAVE HEARD ALL THIS MORALIZING AND COMPROMISING ON MILITARY ARMS BEFORE, BUT THERE IS A DIFFERENCE HERE IN WASHINGTON NOW.

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CARTER IS "REALLY" SERIOUS ABOUT HIS MORALITY AND STRATEGY, AND IS NOT LIKELY TO TRADE OFF ONE AGAINST THE OTHER. THE RUSSIANS HAVE HEARD ALL THIS MORALITY TALK FROM KENNEDY, JOHNSON, NIXON AND FORD, BUT THE THING ABOUT CARTER THAT HASN'T YET BEEN UNDERSTOOD EVEN AT HOME, LET ALONE ABROAD, IS THAT, UNLIKE MOST OF THEM, HE WENT TO CHURCH BEFORE HE GOT INTO POLITICS, AND HAS THE CONVICTION AND THE ENERGY TO INSIST ON WHAT HE BELIEVES.

OUR FORMER AMBASSADOR IN THE SOVIET UNION, GEORGE KENNAN, DEFINED MANY YEARS AGO JIMMY CARTER'S APPROACH TO THIS PROBLEM -- BETTER THAN MR. CARTER HAS EVER BEEN ABLE TO EXPRESS IT HIMSELF.

"OUR FIRST AND MAIN CONCERN,, KENNAN WROTE IN 'AMERICAN DIPLOMACY', "MUST STILL BE TO ACHIEVE THIS STATE OF NATIONAL CHARACTER. WE NEED WORRY LESS ABOUT CONVINCING OTHERS THAT WE HAVE DONE SO. IN THE LIVES OF NATIONS THE REALLY WORTHWHILE THINGS CANNOT AND WILL NOT BE HIDDEN. . . .NO IRON CURTAIN COULD SUPPRESS, EVEN IN THE INNERMOST DEPTHS OF SIBERIA, THE NEWS THAT AMERICA HAD SHED THE SHACKLES OF DISUNITY, CONFUSION, AND DOUBT -- HAD TAKEN A NEW LEASE OF HOPE AND DETERMINATION, AND WAS SETTING ABOUT HER TASKS WITH ENTHUSIASM AND CLARITY OF PURPOSE."

THIS IS REALLY THE MESSAGE THAT PRESIDENT CARTER HAS GIVEN TO SECRETARY OF STATE VANCE ON HIS WAY TO MOSCOW. END TEXT.  
CHRISTOPHER

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